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ROMAN LIFE
AS REFLECTED IN THE SATIRES AND EPISTLES
OF HORACE

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Preface.

All authors are mirrors, and their works are perfect or imperfect, complete or partal reflections of contemporary life and manners. Sometimes the outlines are dim, sometimes clear cut and well defined. At times the mirror is too convex and reflects not true images but caricatures; again it is too concave and the pictures are Liliputian. A big souled optimist may show us not life as it is but life as it ought to be; or a gloomy pessimist may let us see "through a glass darkly."

To obtain information about the daily life, and ideas and ideals of the people of any age, it is necessary to have recourse to her literature. And it is of interest to note that the clearest cut pictures of the life are to be found, not in the dreary educational tomes and encyclopedic discussions, but in the lighter forms of literature, fiction, poetry and satire. In his "Scarlet Letter," Hawthorne has left us a portrait of the stern Puritan colonists that no lapse of time will cause to fade. From the "Squeers' School" we take away, with Nicholas Nickleby a clear knowledge of the errors in the educational system of England in the first half of the nineteenth century. Guy de Maupassant images for us modern peasant life in France; Dickens in his Oliver Twist the underworld of London.

The Augustan Age of Roman Literature furnishes us with one great prose writer, the historian Livy, and the five poets Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid. Livy is of comparatively little value as

a representative of his own time. His pictured page reflects the past achievements, and the life of the Romans in days long gone. The Elegiac poets also are somewhat disappointing, for they give us only vague pictures of the lighter side of the life. Virgil and Horace, however, are eminently satisfactory, Virgil as the exponent of the highest hopes and ideals of the Augustan Age, Horace of its actual life and movements. Sellar, in his Roman Poets of the Augustan Age says, "In no Greek or Roman poet do we find so complete a representation of any time as we find in Horace of those years of the Augustan Age which most deserve to live in the memory of the world."

The Satires and Epistles of Horace overflow with references to the ordinary daily life of the Roman of that period. Sometimes a whole satire will be devoted to one phase of the life, as Serm. I, 5, to a description of a trip to Brundisium, and Serm. II, 8, to a story of a comical dinner party. Sometimes, on the other hand, a single satire or epistle gives many pictures in swift succession. Not every picture, of course, can be taken just as it is; for satire is essentially criticism, and a critic must often resort to caricature. Horace, however, is too big and whole souled ever to indulge in carping criticism. We always find him smiling tolerantly at the times, at the people, at himself. And we feel that we can trust him to give us, in the main, a true image of the characters and customs and virtues and vices of the Romans of that day.

The aim of this dissertation is to collect under various heads the most noteworthy references scattered throughout the Satires and Epistles of Horace, and thus show how nearly complete is the picture of the ordinary daily life of a Roman, to be obtained by the intelligent reading of these works. The attitude has been scientific rather than literary, and no attempt has been made to incorporate into the work a handbook of Roman Daily Life.

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Chapter I.

THE ROMAN FAMILY.

The first fact that challenges the attention of a reader of the Satires and Epistles from the standpoint of Roman Daily Life is the dearth of information they contain concerning that most famous and sacred institution of the Roman State - the "Familia". Rome was a state where patria potestas held full sway, where the pater familias alone existed sui iuris, and all others were alieno iuri subiecti, where ancestor worship was the chief factor in the state religion and where daily offerings were made to the manes of the dead forefathers. But on this subject Horace is strangely silent.

The reason for this reticence is not far to seek. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, though himself ingenuus, that is born after the manumission of his father, was nevertheless the son of a freedman. A libertinus is known in Roman Law as nullius filius, therefore Horace is a novus homo with no grandfather, no ancestral estate, no geneological tree. The poet frankly tells us all this in Serm. I, 6, 1-6:

> Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
> Incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te,
> Nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
> Olimqui magnis legionibus imperitarent,
> Ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
> Ignotus, ut me libertino patre natum.

Entirely unashamed of his low birth Horace repeats several times Serm. I, 6, 45 and 46, and Epist. I, 20, 20 that he is born of a freedman father, and he makes his appeal to the friendship of Maecenas not on account

of a famous father (non praeclaro patre sed vita et pectore pura) but by his own clean life and pure heart.

By his very vehemence Horace bears witness to the power of the Familia and all the word implies. In the good old days, he says, men were rated not by the number and fame of their ancestors but by their real worth. Serm. I, 6, 9-11:

Ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum
Multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
Et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos.

People, as a rule, he says are dazzled by the wax masks and the inscriptions of their ancestors. He makes the striving for a high name still more ridiculous, by quoting a man as saying, "But Novius sits one place below me; he is what my father was." "Such a man," says our poet, "considers himself a Paulus or a Messalla," using the cognomina of the old and aristocratic Aemilian and Valerian families.

But though Horace's father had not gifted him with a famous name and ancestral lands, he exercised the most important influence on his character, by his worth, sagacity and pious devotion. There is something strangely modern in the companionship of the boy with his freedman father. The affectionate intimacy of the two is almost unique in ancient literature. The loving gratitude of the son is beautiful to see.

At hoc nunc
Laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.

For his part, the poet though nullis maioribus and sine gente is perfectly satisfied with his parents. He assures us of this Serm. I, 6, 93-99: nam si natura iuberet

Acertis annis aevum remeare peractum
Atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentis
Optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
Fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
Iudicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
Nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.

It is only in this collective sense that Horace mentions his mother. He gives us no information whatever of the position of the mater familias in Roman life. He mentions the word mater three or four times, once (Serm. I, 9, 26-27) to show that she would be interested in the safety of her offspring:

est tibi mater,
Cognati, quis te salvo est opus?

Again Serm. II, 3 he says, "Let an affectionate mother, a faithful sister, a father with relations, a wife call out." In the epistles also he tells us that minors, whose father has died and who are not in potestate of any male ancestor, are during the period of minority subject to the guardianship of their mother. Epist. I, 1, 21 and 22:

ut piger annus
Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum.

The lines lead us to suppose that in such a case the mothers were inclined to severity.

Other members of the familia mentioned by Horace are the grandfather, the grandmother, the uncle and the guardian. All these are spoken of only casually, as: Serm. I, 6, 130-131:

His me consolor victurum suavius ac si
Quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset,

and in Serm. II, 1, 56:

Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.

The curator or guardian assigned by the praetor to take care of minors or irresponsible people, is met with twice; once in Serm. II, 3, 217, again in Epist. I, 1, 102:

Curatoris a praetore dati.

Chapter II.

CHILDREN AND EDUCATION.

To the Roman of the first century of the Empire, as to the Roman of almost any other period of history, a child was a citizen in embryo, nothing more. There was no glorification of the period of childhood, no eager watching for the first signs of self expression in the babe, no feeling that "the child is father to the man." Through patria potestas the father was at liberty to accept (tollere suscipere), or to reject the child born to him, and though at this period of history exposure of healthy children was uncommon, still the attitude toward the child remained unchanged. His importance was undervalued. Interest in the child as such was not awakened until the God of the universe came down to the earth as a helpless little child, and by that act made childhood forever sacred.

In view of this fact it is not surprising that Roman authors refer very seldom to children, their life and their games and their work. They probably lived very normal lives during their first years, had the usual balls, and dolls and wagons and live pets, and, whether boys or girls, were under the watchful guardianship of the mother. That the father loved even the deformed children and tried to hide their deformities under pet names, we have evidence in Serm. I, 3, 44-48:

Strabonem
Appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male parvus
Si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphys; hunc Varum distortis cruribus, illum
Balbutit scaurum, pravis fultum male talis.

Of the games enjoyed by children we obtain some information from Horace. Thus the reference Epist. I, 1, 59-60:

At pueri ludentes, Rex eris, aiunt,

Si recte facies

seems to point to some kind of a game. We gain much more definite knowledge from Serm. II, 3, 247-253:

Aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,
Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa
Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset
Nec quicquam differre, utrumine in pulvere trimus
Quale prius ludas opus, an mertricis amore
Sollicitus phores.

This list of childish games shows clearly that the little Roman boy did not differ greatly from the child of today. We can easily see a little American boy of three playing in the sand, building houses, riding on a reed as a charger, and even hitching up mice to little wagons. There is a passage even more characteristic of the boyhood of any country and age in line 171 of the same satire where the dying father calls his two sons and tells them that he has noticed that Aulus always carries his nuts and playthings (nuces et talos) openly, while Tiberius hides his in holes. The game"even and odd" (par impar) was played with nuts and seems to have been somewhat similar to the modern game of marbles.

The early childhood of Horace differed somewhat from that of a normal Roman boy. He nowhere mentions his mother nor a brother nor sister, and since he had a very affectionate nature, it seems reasonable to infer that he was the only child of his parents, and that his mother died in his infancy. From his earliest days he seems to have been the close companion of his father; he took complete charge of the boy's early training

and he implanted in the young heart principles of right living and rules to govern his conduct in after years. Serm. I, 4, 105:

insuevit pater optimus hoc me
Ut fugerem exemplis, vitiorum quaeque notando.

To his father's care also Horace owed advantage of receiving the highest education which Rome and afterwards Athens could furnish. In telling us how his father, unwilling to have him receive his education in the provincial school of Venusia where he would be looked down on by the husky sons of the centurions, Horace has given us a vivid picture of the school boy of the country town of Italy contrasted with the school boy of Rome, Serm. I, 6, 71-82:

Causa fuit pater his qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
Laeva suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris,
Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
Artis, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
Semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentis,
In magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
Ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis
Circum doctores aderat.

Here we see that the country boy went to school unattended and carried his own satchel and writing tablet. Probably the octonos, eight asses, is not to be taken literally as the exact amount paid the teacher each month, but may signify any small number. Eight asses would be the equivalent of ten or twelve cents, a very small amount, as we estimate money

values today. The teachers at Rome received a little higher salary, though every where teachers were underpaid. Payments to instructors, like interest on borrowed money, seem to have been made on the Ides of the month.

At some personal sacrifice, the freedman father took his boy to Rome, to be trained like the sons of knights and senators. There he furnished him with attendant slaves to carry his books to and from school, and he himself served as his son's paedagogus, accompanying him everywhere from teacher to teacher.

Of these early teachers (doctores) Horace mentions only one by name, the famous Orbilius plagosus of Epist. II, 1, 71. His testimony seems to substantiate that of other writers, that the discipline was severe and often harsh, and that the ferule (ferula) had a prominent place in the curriculum. This was long before the days of educational fads, when the child must be guided with smiles and games and tender words along the primrose path of education.

Yet there is evidence that even in ancient Rome, school masters sometimes resorted to rewards and bribes, to urge on their charges. Thus in Serm. I, 1, 25-26 Horace says:

Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.

Those lines sound like the most modern of modern methods of education. And Quintilian and Hieronymus both bear witness to the truth of the lines. Quint. I, 1, 26 says: non excludo autem id quod est notum irritandae ad discendum infantiae gratia eburneas etiam litterarum formas in lusum offerre; and Hieron. Epist. 12, interim modo litterarum elementa cognoscat, iu ngat syllabus ... atque ut voce tinnula ista meditetur, pro-

ponantur ei crustula, mulsa praemia.

The crustula were little cakes, very similar to our cookies.

The only schools that Horace mentions by name are the ludi, the elementary schools, though the ludi may include the ludi grammatici or secondary school as well as the ludi litterarum. He must have attended the schola rhetorici also, which was the equivalent of our college, for he expressly states that after the completion of his education at Rome he went to Athens for supplementary training. Athens might almost be called the University of the Romans and the most brilliant of the young Romans seem to have spent a year or so there.

The text books used in the school were the Greek and Latin poets. In the early days the boys learned by heart the Twelve Tables, and dreary work it must have been. But later, more interesting literature was offered - the translation of the Odyssey by Livius Andronicus, a favorite book with the pupils and used as a text until the age of Augustus. Later Terence, Vergil and Horace succeeded, and we find in Horace several expressions of fear lest this should be the fate of his writings. In addressing his book Serm. I, 10, 74-75 he says:

Au tua demens
Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

and again Epist. I, 20, 17-18:

Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docendum
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.

The educational system developed at Rome was the result of the aim of the education there. The children were taught the alphabet sometimes, as we see from Quintilian, by using ivory blocks as playthings. Later their training seems to have been obtained by committing to memory

passages dictated by the teacher. The pupils probably had no text books for personal use, but had note books compiled from the teacher's dictations.

That this method was common in Horace's day is shown by several references to dictation, (dictari, dictata) used many times in the Satires and Epistles. He refers to the imitation and constant repetition employed in the schools. Epist. I, 18, 10-14:

Alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi
Derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret
Sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit
Ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
Reddere vel partis mimum tractare secundas.

It is when speaking of the carmina of Livius Andronicus used for dictation in schools, that Horace applies that undying epithet to his teacher Orbilius, Epist. II, 1, 69-72:

Non equidem insector delendare carmina Livi
Esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri
Pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror.

There is a reference also to the concert recitation of the lessons learned from dictation. Epist. I, 1, 54-56:

haec Ianus summus ab imo
Perdocet, haec reciment invenes dictata senesque,
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.

The tabula was a wax tablet on which the pupil wrote with a stilus, a pencil made of iron, bronze or wood sharpened at on end. That the other end was blunt, and was commonly used for erasing is evident

from Horace's advice to his old stilus to make many corrections. In the tenth satire of the first book he pronounces that frequently quoted maxim: "Often turn the stilus if you would write anything worthy to survive." There is not mention of papyrus nor of the reed pen, calamus, though we do find the word atramentum, signifying black ink.

As to the attendance of girls as school, and whether a system of co-education or segregation was employed there, Horace tells us nothing . Just once, in a casual way he mentions female pupils, Serm. I, 10, 90:

Demetri, teque Tigelli,
Discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.

This line, however, leaves us with absolutely no additional knowledge of the education of women. We must look outside Horace for information on this subject.

To the laying aside of the toga praetexta and the assuming of the manly garb and the obligations of citizenship, our author refers Serm. I, 2, 16-17:

Nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili
Sub patribus duris tironum.

The pure white toga virilis, the badge of manhood took the place of the crimson bordered toga of childhood, when the boy had reached the sixteenth or seventeenth year. Often this ceremony took place on the seventeenth of March, the feast of liberalia. Early in the morning, the boy laid before the Lares the bulla and toga praetexta, donned the toga virilis, called also toga pura and toga libera, and escorted by his father, and the slaves, freedmen and clients of the household, proceeded to the forum. Here he received congratulations and had his name enrolled

among the citizens. He made an offering in the temple of Liber and returned home, a man. The period of childhood was ended.

Chapter III.

DEPENDENTS.

In referring to slaves, Horace resorts to a great variety of words, not always being careful to differentiate the shades of meaning. Instead of the usual word "servi", he uses "venalis" Serm. I, 1, 47:

ut si
Reticulum panis venalis inter onusto
Forte vehas umero.

This word signifies strictly slaves offered for sale, and Horace keeps to the meaning in applying it to a gang of slaves being driven to the slave market.

Several times he uses the word calones. In the first reference Serm. I, 2, 44:

Hunc perminxerunt calones

the word, originally applicable to a camp followere or a servant in the army, seems to mean any low servant or drudge. On the other hand in Serm. I, 6, 103:

plures calones atque caballi
pascendi,

calones evidently means grooms and in Epist. I, 14, 42:

invidet usum
Lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti

the reference is undoubtedly to a stable boy.

The word pueri, young men used as attendants, we find in Serm. I, 5, 11:

Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae

Ingerere

where it refers to the slave attendants of the travellers, and in Serm. I, 6, 116:

Cena ministratur pueris tribus

denoting the waiters at table.

Home grown slaves, that is, those born and raised in the master's house, were more valuable and were usually better treated than the ordinary foreign slaves. They were distinguished by the name vernae. In the first reference here Serm. I, 2, 117 the word is synonymous with servi, but in Serm. II, 6, 66:

Ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces

Pasco libatis dapibus

he means these saucy house slaves whose forwardness was proverbial. It is a verna, born at Tibur or Gabii that he pretends to have for sale in Epist. II, 2, 2:

Si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum

Tibure vel Gabiis.

In order to designate a female slave our author keeps to the usual feminine for servus, ancilla, Serm. I, 2, 63; I, 2, 117; and Epist. I, 18, 72;

The overseer or steward was usually a slave, and was called vilicus. This was a very honorable position for a slave to hold, and Horace chides his vilicus in Epist. I, 14, for wishing to return to the city, after he had been promoted to this new situation from his low employment as "mediastinus", a town slave with no fixed duties, liable to be called on for any kind of work.

The paedagogus and the custos have been mentioned in chapter two. The word custos, usually applicable to the guardian of youth refers to a jail keeper in Epist. I, 16, 77:

In manicis et

Compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.

Horace uses the typical slave names: Syrus, Serm. II, 6, 44; Dama, Serm. II, 5, 18 and 101; and Serm. II, 7, 54; Dionysius, Serm. I, 6, 38. His own slave he calls Davus, Serm. II, 7.

As to the character of the slaves and the relations existing between them and their masters the testimony of Horace serves to substantiate that of other writers. Of the forwardness of the house slaves a noteworthy example is given in Serm. II, 7. Here the slave Davus delivers to his master a long lecture on virtue and real liberty. He offers as excuse for his freedom of speech, the fact that it is the time of the Saturnalia, a period of general rejoicing, when slaves were given extraordinary privileges. Here, in the character of his slave, our author enunciates the Stoic principle which is also Christian, that they only enjoy liberty who are virtuous and free from enslaving passions. His words are very beautiful, Serm. II, 7, 83:

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus,
Quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores,
Fortis, et in se ipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna.

He strikes the same note in line 75:

Tune mihi dominus rerum imperiis hominumque

Tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
Imposita haud umquam misera formidine privet.

Yet, though he expresses himself here like a modern Christian philosopher, Horace gives us no reason to believe that he, any more than his contemporaries, was opposed to the holding of slaves on moral grounds. To all Romans of this period the slave was non persona sed res. He was bought and sold as other property and was absolutely at the disposal of the master. He received as his rations, diaria, four or five pounds of meal a day, and had poor clothes, usually those thrown away by his master. He had no social or moral standard, and was ruled by one thing, his fear of punishment. His only virtue was obedience. Under these conditions it is not surprising to find that the slaves were as a rule a dishonest lot, not to be trusted. They could easily be bribed Serm. I, 9, 57:

Haud mihi dero
Muneribus servos corrumpam

and for this reason were feared by their masters, Serm. I, 1, 76:

An vigilare metu exaninem, noctesque diesque
Formidare malos fures, incendia, servos
Ne te compilent fugientes.

As another Roman writer has said:

Quot servi, tot hostes in proverbio est.

On the other hand the attitude of the slave toward his master is given in two words in Serm. II, 7: 'servus reformido, being a slave I am afraid.' The fear of being caught in wrong doing and receiving corporal punishment was ever present with the slave. These punishments varied in severity from a drubbing on the back (plector

tergo) to crucifixion. Some masters were cruel and administered very severe punishments for slight faults. Horace complains of this Serm. I, 3, 80:

> Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere, iussus
> Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius
> In cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter
> Sanos dicatur.

The crux was the crosss on which slaves were crucified. This method of punishment was usually resorted to only in extreme cases, though theoretically and according to law a man might kill his slave if he chose as he might destroy any other possessions. Horace does not approve of harsh penalties for slight offences, and he enunciates principles to guide masters Serm. I, 3, 117:

> adsit
> Regula, peccatis quae poenas inroget aequas
> Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
> Nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
> Verbera, non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res
> Furta latrociniis et magnis parva mineris
> Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
> Permittant homines.

The scutica referred to here was a leather thong used to punish slaves for slight offences, while the flagellum or scourge was set with knobs of bone or metal, and so caused severe suffering by tearing the flesh. The ferula was a cane used in punishing children and refractory school boys. Horace here states that there was not the slightest danger of a

master treating his slave too humanely. Indeed gentleness and humaneness were not outstanding characteristics of the Roman even when dealing with people of his own class. In his treatment of the slave he seems to have given full vent to his passions.

Another instrument of torture, the furca is mentioned Serm. II, 7, 66:

Ibis sub furcam prudens.

It was shaped like a fork and placed on the culprit's neck while his hands were fastened to the two ends. From this came the word furcifer, meaning literally a slave bearing the furca, but coming to mean gallows bird or rogue.

As to the number of slaves and the methods of buying and selling them, our author gives no definite knowledge. In Epist. II, 2 addressed to Julius Florus, he speaks of selling a young verna of some accomplishments and greater ability for 8000 sesterces. This amounts to about $400 in our money, and seems to be a good average price for that type of slave. He mentions the slave dealer, the mango and the leno, and as was stated previously, he speaks of the slaves going to the market place to be sold, but gives no real information.

As to the number of slaves in any one household he is equally indefinite. In Epist. I, 6, 39, he speaks of the King of the Cappadocians, rich in slaves, and Serm. I, 3, 11:

habebat saepe ducentos

Saepe decem servos.

Again in Serm. II, 7, he speaks of the great number of slaves that seemed to Nasidenus essential for the proper serving of a banquet. It is not probable, however, that at this period the Romans had the great

number of slaves that they had in the time of the late Empire. Horace himself seems to have had comparatively few. On his own authority, his familia rustica on his Sabine farm consisted of only eight , Serm. II, 7, 118:

Ocius hinc te

Ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.

Here also we see one kind of penalty inflicted on slaves guilty of misdemeanors, they were banished to the farms and were forced to engage in laborious farm labor.

Of pleasure the slave knew almost nothing. During the Saturnalia in December, however, he engaged in wild revels, and presumably when in the city he had some free time in which to resort to the cook shops and other less innocent places of amusement, for Davus, the slave, says, Serm. II, 7, 102:

Nil ego, si ducor libo fumante.

A few lines before he has spoken of looking at the posters on which are drawn in red chalk or charcoal pictures of the battles of gladiators.

The slave had only one hope in this life, that of manumission. For this purpose an economical slave would save his peculium, though sometimes the slave used this peculium in order to buy a slave for himself. This slave of a slave was called vicarius and is mentioned Serm. II, 7, 79. A manumitted slave was called libertinus in reference to his status in society, and libertus in reference to the manumitter, Quint. V. 10, 60:

Qui servus est, si manumittatur fit

libertinus.

The libertinus was, of course, next to the slave in the social scale.

Horace seems to have a particular affection for the libertini, because his father was one of them, and he mentions the word frequently . He tells us that it was the praetor with his praetor's rod (vindicta) who set a slave free. The feminine form libertina is employed, Serm. I, 2, 48:

> Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda
> Libertinarum dico.

The parasitus or hanger on, usually termed scurra in Horace, seems to have been a sort of degenerate cliens. He is like the scurra of the comedies of Plautus, a Roman citizen but one of low standing, Plaut. Trin. I, 2, 165:

> Urbani assidui cives quos scurras vocant.

Some of the scurrae may have been freedmen.

In its original sense the word scurra signified a town-bred gentleman as opposed to a rusticus. In the age of Horace it is practically equal to parasitus, a Greek word which originally meant a priest's assistant, but later a hanger on who played the buffoon in order to obtain an invitation to dinner. Our author uses parasitus in Epist. II, 1, 173, but we find scurra many times. To cite a few references, the latter word appears: Serm. I, 5, 52; Serm. I, 8, 11; Epist. I, 15, 28; Epist. I, 18, 4.

These hangers on are Horace's special aversion, and seem to him equally despicable whether they go about hunting a meal or obsequiously agree with everything the patron says, or make weak jokes for the entertainment of host and guests. Thus in Serm. II, 8, the appropriately named Scurra Porcius made fun for the company by swallowing cakes whole.

According to our satirist, these pests of society were ubiquitous. They went about hunting ways of making money, and by fawning on old bachelors and childless widowers, tried to gain bequests. Horace devotes a whole satire, Serm. II, 5, to decrying this practice. Another of their various methods is shown in Serm. I, 9, where the bore attached himself to Horace in the desire of gaining through him, access to Maecenas, Serm. I, 9, 45:

Haberes
Magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
Hunc hominem velles si tradere.

Chapter IV.

THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE.

In the Satires and Epistles the house is designated by the usual word domus; by tectum Serm. I, 6, used ordinarily to refer to the roof of a building, but here to the whole house; by aedes, ex magnis aedibus, stately houses, from the word commonly used for temple; and by lar, originally the titular deity of a house, but expressing by metonomy the mansion itself, Serm. I, 2, 56:

> Qui patrium, mimae donat fundumque Laremque
> Nil fuerit mi inquit cum uxoribus umquam alienis.

and Epist. II, 2, 51:

> Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi
> Decisis humilem pinnis inopemque paterni
> Et laris et fundi Pauperitas impulit, audax
> Ut versus facerem.

The doors of the house are called ostia, Serm. I, 1, 10:

> Consultor ubi ostia pulsat.

Here the word evidently signifies the entrance door. The ordinary Roman house in the city had a vestibulum or entrance hall where the clients waited for their patron in the morning. The ostia led from the vestibulum to tho atrium: This is certainly the idea in Epist. I, 5, 31:

> Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

Another word for the door is ianua. Some students of Roman Life insist that the ianua was the entrance from the street to the vestibulum, and the ostia the door into the atrium. Others say that

the names are interchangeable. Horace makes no clear distinction. The ianua had two guardians, the ianitor and the dog, Serm. I, 2, 128:

Ianua frangatur, latret canis.

The dog was usually chained near the ianua, and if no dog were there, the figure of a dog wrought in mosaic was often to be seen at the threshold with this warning " cave canem", beware the dog.

The entrance doors and the other doors in the house might be single doors, or folding doors, fores or valvae. The strepitus valvarum of Serm. II, 6, leads us to suppose that the movement on the hinges was not always noiseless. The hinges were unlike ours of the present time. They were cylinders of hard wood, somewhat longer than the door itself, and furnished with a ball and socket arrangement at the top and bottom.

The limen ordinarily signifying the doorstep is used once in Horace as an entrance way or porch, Serm. I, 5, 99:

Dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine
sacro persuadere cupit

In the Satires and Epistles specific mention is made of only a few rooms. Of course the great central living room, the atrium, appears frequently. Once the author refers to it as the aula, Epist. I, 1, 87:

Lectus genialis in aula est.

The atrium, formerly the scene of all the family life, still retained this lectus genialis a couch symbolic of marriage, place opposite the ostium. This was under the protection of the genius of the family, and in the olden days, husband and wife used it for their sleeping couch. By the end of the Republic, however, it served merely as a symbol and an ornament. Of course, no lectus genialis decorated the

atrium unless the man of the house was married.

The culina or kitchen is mentioned Serm. I, 5, 73:

Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flumina culinam
Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.

The culina was roofed - summum tectum, and it had an open fire, since a stray flame caused the trouble. The name given to this open stove is caminus in line 81 of the same satire. This word usually means forge, but it refers to the stove again in Epist. I, 11, 19:

Incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit, quod
Paenula solstitio campestre nivalibus auris,
Per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.

In Serm. II, 3, 32:

Adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino,

the word no longer means the stove, but is taken by metonomy to signify fire. We can easily sympathize with the travellers in Serm. I, 5, who had to endure the smoke caused by placing wet boughs still bearing their leaves, udi rami foliis, on such an open fire.

The author employs the word cenaculum as a small garret, rented by a poor man Epist. I, 1, 91:

Quid pauper? Ride: mutat cenacula, lectos.

In its original significance the cenaculum was a dining room (cena) on the second floor. This is the interpretation in the Gospel of Saint Luke XXII, 12:

Et ipse ostendet vobis coenaculum magnum stratum,
et ibi parate.

From the situation of the cenaculum on the second floor, a derived

meaning of upper room was obtained, and then it was one more step to garret.

From reading Horace one receives what is probably the correct idea of the furnishing of Roman houses. The rooms would have looked very bare if compared with the interior of the home of an American millionaire, but the furniture though scant, was good, and often chosen with exquisite taste. Statues seem to have taken a prominent part in the furnishing particularly of the atrium. Mention is made Epist. II, 1, 248 of brazen images, aenea signa, and a few lines farther down in the same epistle, of figures done in wax, Epist. II, 1, 265:

Nil moror officium guod me gravat, ac neque ficto
In peius voltu proponi cereus usquam
Nec prave factis decorari versibus opto.

Paintings also, picta tabella, were doubtless very common.

Next to statues, probably tables were the favorite pieces of furniture. Horace, eulogizing the simple life, says, Serm. I, 3, 13:

Sit mihi mensa tripes et
Concha salis puri.

The mensa tripes was an old fashioned circular table with three legs. It was comparatively inexpensive and usually made of cheap marble as in Serm. I, 6, 116:

Pocula cum cyathio duo sustinet et lapis albus astat
echinus
Vilis, cum para guttus, Campana supellex.

Porphyrio in explaining this passage says, "marmoream Delphicam significat, quae scilicet pretii magni non est." The rich man would have had a costly table of wood or variegated marble. Thus in the banquet

given by Nasidenus Serm. II, 8, the table was of maple with a purple cloth, mensa acerna purpureo gausape.

The last few passages quoted contain a whole fund of information. The concha salis means a shell of salt, used instead of a silver salt cellar. Only the very poorest used shells for salt. The pocula duo refers to the custom of making drinking cups in pairs. So in Cic. Verr. II, 2, 19, 47: cyphorum paria complura. The echinus was a utensil in the shape of a sea urchin. Some commentators say that it was used as a salt cellar, but Harper defines it as a copper vessel used to wash out the cups. The words cum patera guttus have also caused some discussion. They may refer to an oil flask and saucer, or perhaps to a wine flask used for pouring the libations into the patera; Campana supellex means cheap Campanian bronze used instead of silver.

Horace uses lectus to signify indiscriminately a bed, a reading couch, a marriage couch or a dining couch. Thus he says, Serm. I, 4, 133:

neque enim, cum lectubus aut me
Porticus excepit, desum mihi.

Here he uses the diminutive, my little bed, as does Cic. Cat. I, 4, 9.

The dining couches in the triclinium were often very beautiful, made of beautiful wood or of ivory, and with their mattresses covered with handsome and very expensive throws. So in the little fable of the city mouse and country mouse introduced into Serm. II, 6, we have line 102:

cum ponit uterque
In locuplete domo vestigia rubro ubi cocco

Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos.

Over these purple couches were thrown overings of white linen called toralia, very similar to the furniture coverings found in modern homes and hotels. The purpose seems to have been the same, also, to protect the expensive articles of furniture. Our author complains of soiled toralia, Serm. II, 4, 84:

Ten lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
Et Tyrias dare circum inlota toralia vestis,
Oblitum, quanto curam sumptumque minorem
Haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis,
Quae nisi divitibus nequeunt contingere mensis?

Indeed simplicity, but absolute cleanliness seems to be his chief demand. In the same satire he says:

Vilibus in scopis in mappis in scobe quantus
Consistit sumptus? Neglectis, flagitium ingens.

Horace mentions many kinds of dishes: the catinus, a serving dish; the vetus crater, old family cup; the calix, a glass; the lagena, a bottle; the masonomo, a dish originally for bread, but here used for meat; the argentea vasa, vases. In Serm. II, 6, 10, the urna argenti refers not to a pitcher but to a pot of coins buried as in the Aulularia of Plautus. Urna in its usual sense is a water pitcher, Serm. I, 1, 54:

Ut tibi si sit opus, liquidi non amplius urna,
Vel cyatho, et dicas, magno de flumine mallem,
Quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.

A cyathus was a ladle for dipping out water or wine. It held one

twelfth of a pint, or perhaps was graduated by twelfths.

The curule chair, called here curule ebur, Epist. I, 6, 53, was the famous sella curulis in which only curule officers might sit. It had curved legs of ivory, whence the name curule ebur. As used here it really means the office which would permit a man to sit in a curule chair.

The only other type of chair mentioned is the cathedra, Serm. I, 10, 91:

Demetri, teque Tigelli
Discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.

The cathedra was a chair without arms, but with a curved back, and was the only kind of Roman chair in which a person might sit with any degree of comfort. For this reason, the stern Romans of the olden days considered it too much of a luxury and relegated it to the use of women only. It is mentioned here as the chair used by feminine pupils, and it probably never took the place of the subsellium in the boys' schools. However, there is little doubt but that in the days of Horace, the cathedra was in general use in the home, and was employed by teachers in the higher schools. From this last use comes our expression ex cathedra, signifying an authoritative utterance. In the Christian times a Church having a Cathedra or chair for the use of a Bishop became known as a cathedral.

Money and valuable papers were kept locked up in the loculi or arcae, money chests or coffers. The money chest was kept originally in the atrium near the lectus genialis, but was later moved to the

tablinum. There were other arcae of various sizes in the house, some of them for clothes, some for jewelry. Book boxes, scrinia, are mentioned Epist. II, 1, 113. Hangings, (suspensa aulaea, Serm. II, 8, 54) adorned the walls of the homes of the wealthy, many lamps made day out of night. The lucernae were oil lamps of various kinds. The lamps themselves were often made of costly materials, and were very graceful in form and exquisitely wrought. But they had no chimney to keep the flame steady, and so we are inclined to wonder whether Horace stuck closely to facts when he spoke of the clara lucerna in Serm. II, 7.

In the rear of the town houses there was often a garden, hortus, in which a fountain played and beautiful flowers bloomed. The country places always had these gardens, though here they need not necessarily have been in the rear. To Horace no home was complete without this garden Serm. II, 6, 2:

> Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
> Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons,
> Et paullum silvae super his foret.

The following two quotations seem suitable, not because they give any real information of Roman Private Life, for only the words vas, a vase and testa, a cask connect them with this chapter. But they unite Rome with America, the age of Horace with the twentieth century, and show how thinking men of every time and place derive from unimport- and objects great philosophical truths. The first is taken from Epist. I, 2, 54, the second from lines sixty-nine and seventy of the same epistle:

> Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
>
> Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
> Testa diu.

Chapter V.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

Roman articles of apparel are classified under two general heads: induti and amicti. The indutus was an article of clothing which was drawn on, the amictus one which was wrapped about the body.

Under the term indutus comes first and foremost the tunica. It was a plain woolen shirt, somewhat similar to the modern sweater, made in two pieces fastened together at the sides, and was drawn on over the head. The first reference to the tunic show the two extremes in the manner of wearing the garment, Serm. I, 2, 25:

> Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui
> Inquen ad obscenum subductis usque facetus.

The tunica demissa was left flowing instead of being girded up by a girdle at the waist. In such a case, the ordinary tunic would fall to the calf of the leg. Extra long tunics, however, might reach to the ankles, and were called from this fact tunicae talares. They were considered a sign of effeminacy, and since they interfered with the free action of the legs were worn only by people of leisure. The unbelted tunic was usually called tunica discincta and those who wore it were called discincti. It is referred to again, Serm. I, 2, 132, and Serm. II, 1, 73:

> Nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur holus soliti.

Here it is used to praise the freedom of people living in the country. They went about with loose tunics and no togas.

On the other hand, the belted tunica usually fell to the knees. It was quite extraordinary for a man to be girded as high as the one

mentioned in the first quotation.

In Epist. I, 7, 65 Horace uses the expression tunicato popello. The tunic was the distinctive mark of the lower classes. These poor people always did their work without the toga, though if they were Roman citizens they wore it at other times. Tacitus tells us the same thing in his Dialogus:

vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus.

No undergarment was worn with the tunic except the subligaculum. Two tunics were sometimes worn particularly in cold weather. They were called tunica interior or subucula and tunica exterior. Thus we have Epist. I, 1, 95:

si forte subucula pexae
Trita subest tunicae.

Often those who were feeble from old age or illness wrapped bands of woolen cloth, fasciae, around the legs, or mufflers, focalia, around the throat, or ventralia around the body. These were always considered signs of extreme decrepitude or effeminacy. Horace mentions them Serm. II, 3, 255:

ponas insignia morbi
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia?

Here inderision, he uses the deminutive fasciolae. By the cubital may have been meant a foresleeve for the arm from the elbow down, since the ordinary tunic sleeve covered only half of the upper arm; it may, on the other hand signify a cushion for the elbow.

The ordinary citizen wore a tunica exterior of natural color, white wool. Knights and senators had stripes of purple running from the shoulder to the bottom of the tunic both behind and in front. From the width of the stripe the knight's tunic bore the name tunica

angusticlavia and that of the senator tunica laticlavia. Thus when Horace makes sport of Aufidius, the chief magistrate of Fundi, he ridicules him not for having the insignia, which were rightfully his, but for making a vainglorious display of them, Serm. I, 5, 34:

Fundos Aufidio praetore libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes praemia Scribae,
Praetextam et latumclavum prunaeque vatillum.

The broad striped tunic as a sign of high rank is mentioned again, Serm. I, 6, 27:

Nam ut quisque insanus nigris impediit crus
Pellibus et latum demisit pectore clarum,
Audit continuo,'quis homo hic et quo patre natus.'

There is some discussion as to the exact meaning of Serm. II, 7, 10:

clarum ut mutaret in horas.

Horace is explaining just how changeable the character of Priscus is, and the probable interpretation of the passage is that Priscus changes his clothes adorned with the laticlave every hour, an exaggeration, of course, on the face of it. Other students contest that the words mean that Priscus used to appear sometimes as a knight wearing the augusticlave, again as a senator adorned with the laticlave tunic. The former explanation seems more reasonable, though since Priscus is pictured to us as the type of unreasonableness, he may well have indulged in such pecularity in the style of his attire.

The most important of the amicti was the toga, without

which no citizen could engage in public affairs, for, as Vergil says, the Romans were a gens togata. Our first reference to this article of dress is Serm. I, 3, 14:

Sit mihi mensa tripes, et
Concha salis puri, et toga quae defendere frigus
Quamvis crassa queat.

The toga here is made of a coarse, cheap grade of wool, for Horace is as usual stressing simplicity in manner of life. At this period the Romans were inclined toward extreme fastidiousness in dress. Their togas must be of the very finest material, the tenues togae of Epist. I, 14, 32, and they must fall about them in carefully arranged folds. Our author satirizes this extraordinary care in dress, Epist. I, 1, 96:

si toga dissidet impar,
Rides.

And again Serm. I, 3, 30:

rideri possit eo, quod
Rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus
In pede calceus haeret.

Horace's plea is for a simple scanty toga called in Epist. I, 18, 30, arta toga and designated as exigua toga in Epist. I, 19, 13. Here he is deriding the flowing toga, a style of dress much effected by smart society. Indeed the wildly extravagant manner of dress seems to have caused the same disapproval among the moralists among the ancients, as among the more conservative of our own people. We hear Cicero exclaiming also against these flowing togas, and saying

men were clothed in sails not togas.

The toga of the citizen was made of plain white wool. Curule magistrates, censors, dictators and boys who had not yet assumed the toga virilis wore the toga praetexta with a purple border. This toga praetexta was almost always worn with a tunica laticlavia, and so Horace's mention of it has already been quoted.

Other amicti spoken of by our author are: the chlamys, the pannus, the lacerna and the paenula. The chlamys was a soldier's coat. It is mentioned first Epist. I, 6, 43:

> Post paulo scribit, sibi milia quinque
> Esse domi chlamydum.

The cloaks here were evidently to be used by a soldier's chorus on the stage. However, the word is used again, signifying simply a wrap, with no reference to military affairs, Epist. I, 17, 25:

> Contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat
> Mirabor, vitae via si conversa decebit.
> Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum
> . . . . . .
> Alter Mileti textam cane peius et anque
> Vitabit chlamydem; morietur frigore, si non
> Rettuleris pannum.

The pannus was simply a tattered coarse coat. Miletus was celebrated far and wide for its fine wool. Therefore, the purple chlamys woven at Miletus must have been an extremely beautiful garment.

The paenula, according to Horace, would be a very inappropriate dress in hot weather. The passage, Epist. I, 11, 17, has already been quoted in the preceding chapter. The paenula was a rough

heavy cloak worn in cold or rainy weather. It was always dark in color and had a hood attached that in order to protect the head might be worn as a head covering. The black cappa with its capuch worn as a preaching cloak by the Dominican Father, is almost an exact replica of the old paenula, in cut and style. The cappa, however, differs from this garment in being open in the front, and thus furnishing freedom to the hands and arms. The paenula seems to have been classed with the vestimenta clausa, and to have been drawn on over the head. It was sometimes made of leather or fur, sometimes of heavy wool.

To the lacerna, a mantle just coming into fashion in the Days of Cicero, Horace refers once, Serm. II, 7. It was a cloak, somewhat like the paenula, but of much finer material and brighter color. It seems to have been open at the sides and fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder. It was worn sometimes over the toga, sometimes over the tunic, and was so popular that it began to usurp the place of the toga, and its use in public assemblies was finally forbidden by Augustus.

The word campestre, found in the same passage as paenula, Epist. I, 11, 17, is variously interpreted. It is by some commentators taken to mean thin drawers, by others velamentum is supplied, and the meaning is given, a leather apron worn when exercising in the campus. This latter interpretation seems to agree with the use of the word in Aug. Cir. Dei, XIV, 17:

> Campestria Latinum verbum est; sed ex eo dictum, quod iuvenes qui exercebantur in Campo pudenda operiebant.

As to the kinds of shoes worn by the Romans, we find the soleae, Serm. I, 3, 128:

sapiens crepidas sibi numquam
Nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens.

The soleae were sandals or slippers, consisting essentially of a sole of leather strapped on the feet in different ways, and they formed the characteristic footwear for the house. These are contrasted here with the crepidae, high Greek shoes. The Roman high shoe was called calceus, Serm. I, 3, 31:

male laxus
In pede calceus haeret.

A special kind of calceus is mentioned, Serm. I, 6, 27:

Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impedit crus
Pellibus.

This is the shoe known as the calceus senatorius worn by senators. It had a thick sole, was open on the inside at the ankle, and was fastened by four wide straps. These straps called usually corrigiae, but here termed pelles were wrapped around the leg and tied above the instep (medium crus). There is some discussion as to the color of these shoes. The passage here would seem to imply that they were black.

The Roman of good taste wore only one ring, so Priscus was in bad form in both cases, Serm. II, 7, 9:

Saepe notatus
Cum tribus anellis, modo laeva Priscus inani.

The ring was originally of iron, but later of gold and often contained

a beautiful gem. It was worn on the left hand, because that hand was used less than the right. We find this from Ateius Capito apud Macr. Saturn. VII, 13:

> Hinc factus est ut usus anulorum exemptus dexterae, quae multum negotiorum gerit, in laevam relegaretur.

In another place in the same satire, Horace speaks of the equestrian ring, equestri anulo. The gold ring was originally the special privilege of a knight, but later became a badge of freedom, while the iron ring was relegated to the use of slaves.

That beards were worn in Rome is evident from Serm. I, 3, 133:

> Vellunt tibi barbam
> Lascivi pueri.

It is believed, however, that middle aged men were as a rule, clean shaven, and that beards were worn for the most part by the very young. The Romans were, for the most part, fastidius about their personal appearance. Horace, in this as in everything else, advises moderation. On the one hand he decries the caput odoratum, on the other the man rusticius tonsum. He says, Serm. I, 4, 91:

> Ego si risi, quod ineptus
> Patillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
> Lividus et mordax videor tibi?

With his usual reticence in regard to women, our author gives us very little information concerning their articles of dress. In the coarsest of all the satires, Serm. I, 2, he makes a few references. Thus, Serm. I, 2, 29:

Quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste.

This evidently refers to the tunica exterior or stola, the distinctive dress of the Roman matron. It was much longer than the man's tunic, reaching when ungarded, to the ground. In addition, it had a wide flounce, instita, sewed on the lower edge. The stola was pulled up and bloused at the girdle but was always worn long (talos tegat). Several references are made to the stola in this satire. In one place the matron is said to be veiled in the stola, again she is demissa veste, and a few lines farther, Serm. I, 2, 99:

Ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla.

Evidently the length of the garment is the thing that challenged the attention of the satirist.

In the last passage quoted, another article of clothing worn by women, is mentioned. This is the palla, a woolen wrap for out of doors, much longer than it was wide, wrapped about the figure in much the same way as the men's toga. Another reference to the palla is made, Serm. I, 8, 23:

Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
Cum Sagana maiore ululantem.

Going for a walk with bare feet and disheveled locks, was evidently not customary with Roman women, but Horace tells us nothing about the usual style of hair dressing, nor the usual kind of footwear. The fact that he mentions ciniflones, or hair curlers, in Serm. I, 2, makes it clear that the women of those days as well as those of modern times had resort to artificial means of beautifying their appearance.

Women of ill repute dressed differently from Roman matrons. We find, Serm. I, 2, 101:

Cois tibi paene videre est

Ut mudam;

and again, Epist. I, 18, 3:

Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque

Discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.

The Roman matron wore always the white stola, while the courtesan was obliged to wear a dark toga, the similarity to the men's garment being a mark of her infamy.

Of the wearing of jewelry by women we read, Serm. I, 2, 80:

inter niveos virides que lapillos.

As we go on, we discover more and more clearly that for information concerning women as they really were at that period, we must seek elsewhere.

Chapter VI.

FOOD AND MEALS.

The Satires and Epistles have furnished us with a long list of foods in which the Romans indulged. In meats there are: aper, or wild boar, Serm. II, 2, 42; fumosae cum pede pernae, or smoked dried bacon, Serm. II, 2, 117; haedus, the kid, Serm. II, 2, 121; caprea, goat, Serm. II, 4, 43; armos leporis faecundae, hare, Serm. II, 4, 44; lardus, bacon, Serm. II, 6, 64; perna, ham, Serm. II, 4, 60; hillae, sausages, Serm. II, 4, 60; volva, hog's harslet, Epist. I, 10, 41; and omasus, tripe, Epist. I, 10, 34.

In fowls are mentioned: pavo, peacock, Serm. I, 2, 116; peregrina lagois, the Alpine grouse, Serm. II, 2, 22; gallina, hen, Serm. II, 2, 24; pullus, young chicken, Serm. II, 2, 121; ciconia, stork, Serm. II, 2, 49; mergus, cormorant or gull, Serm. II, 2, 51; turdus, thrush, Serm. II, 2, 74; grus, crane, Serm. II, 8, 87; anser, goose, Serm. II, 8, 88; merula, blackbird, Serm. II, 8, 91; ilia passeris, guts of a flounder, Serm. II, 8, 30; palumbes, ring doves; Serm. II, 8, 91.

Innumerable kinds of fish and mollusks appear among which are: ostrea, oysters, Serm. II, 2, 21; scarus, scar fish, Serm. II, 2, 22; lupus, pike, Serm. II, 2, 31; mullus, mullet, Serm. II, 2, 33; acipenser, sturgeon, Serm. II, 2, 47; rhombus, turbot, Serm. II, 2, 48; conchylium, shell fish, Serm. II, 2, 74; concha, shell fish, Serm. II, 4, 28; Lucrina peloris, Lucrine mussel, Serm. II, 4, 32; patuli pectines, large cockles, Serm. II, 4, 34; Afra cochlea, African cockles, Serm. II, 4, 58; squillae, shrimps, Serm. II, 4, 58; murena, lamprey, Serm. II, 8, 43; Iberi piscis, Spanish mackerel, Serm. II, 8, 46; testa marina, Serm. II,

8, 53, and echinus, Serm. II, 8, 52, sea urchins.

The principal vegetables are: holus, greens, Serm. I, 1, 74; coles, cabbage, Serm. II, 4, 15; fungus, mushrooms, Serm. II, 4, 20; lapathum, sorrell, Serm. II, 4, 29; lactuca, lettuce, Serm. II, 4 59; faba, bean, Serm. II, 6, 63; holuscula, small potherbs, Serm. II, 6, 64; cicer, pea, Serm. I, 6, 115; avena, oats, Serm. II, 6, 84; inulae, elecampane, Serm. II, 2, 44; radices, radishes, Serm. II, 8, 8; siser, skerret, Serm. II, 8, 9; eruca, rockets, Serm. II, 8, 51; tisanarium oryzae, rice gruel, Serm. II, 3, 155.

In fruits we have: pensilis uva, the raisin, Serm. II, 2, 121, and aridum acinum, the raisin, Serm. II, 6, 84; ficus, fig, Serm. II, 2, 122; poma Picena, apples, Serm. II, 4, 70, and mala, apples, Serm. II, 4, 73; morus, mulberry, Serm. II, 4,22; oliva, olive, Serm. II, 2, 45; corna, cornel berries, Serm. II, 2, 57; melimela, honey apples, Serm. II, 8, 31; uva, grape, Serm. II, 8, 50; pruna, damson, Epist. I, 16, 9. Among the appetizers are nuces, nuts, Serm. II, 2, 122, and ovi, eggs, Serm. II, 4, 45.

The Romans were very fond of sauces and pickles. Horace mentions: rapula, pickled turnips or radish, Serm. II, 2, 43; acidae inulae, elecampane pickled in vinegar, Serm. II, 2, 44; Byzantia orca, jars of pickled fish, Serm. II, 4, 66; duplex ius,sauce, Serm. II, 4, 63; sucus, sauce, Serm. II, 8, 28; allec, a pickle made of the entrails of fishes, Serm. II, 4, 73; garum, fish pickle or jelly, Serm. II, 8, 46; muria, a sauce made of tunny, Serm. II, 8, 52. Then we have the condiments; album piper, white pepper, Serm. II, 4, 74, and sal

niger, or black salt. Oil and vinegar receive frequent mention.

The usual word panis for bread is found, Serm. I, 1, 74, and Serm. II, 2, 17. Sweetened breads, or cakes are mentioned: crustula, Serm. II, 4, 47; placenta, Serm. II, 8, 24; mellitis placenta, Epist. I, 10, 11.

The wines were named then as now, from the place in which they were made. Thus there are: Massicum, a third quality Campanian wine, Serm. II, 4, 51; Surrentina, a light wine, Serm. II, 4, 55; Alba Coa, white Coan, Serm. II, 4, 29; Chium, Chian, Serm. II, 8, 15; Caecubum, the finest Italian wine, Serm. II, 8, 15; Albanum, Alban wine, Serm. II, 8, 50; Falernum, Falernian wine, Serm. II, 8, 16. The lees or dregs of wine, faex, are mentioned, Serm. II, 4, 73, and special kinds of lees: Coa foecula, Serm. II, 8, 19, and Falernum mustum, Serm. II, 4, 19. Horace says the wines were often mixed with Hymettian honey, and undiluted wine seems rarely to have been drunk.

On the whole, the Roman of this day seems to have been a rational eater, and although our author devotes two entire satires, numbers four and eight of book two, to chiding his countrymen for their excessive desire for imported viands, and fine eating, the menus given do not seem extravagant. Most of the foods are home grown, or imported from neighboring places. There is nothing to compare with the excesses of the Cena Trimalchionis.

We find no mention of the ientaculum, or Roman breakfast, and it may be that Horace did not break his fast until the prandium. This prandium, he speaks of only casually, referring to people who

have eaten as pransi, and those who have not yet had lunch, as impransi.

To the cena or principal meal of the day, he devoted all his attention, probably because he was a moralizer, and his business was to criticize. All excesses indulged in must have occurred at this meal. The cena in the city seems to have been almost always a banquet, at which guests were present, and a man either dined out at the home of a friend, or was himself the host. The host was called: parochus, a term of contempt, dominus, Serm. II, 8, 93; cenae pater, Serm. II, 8, 7.

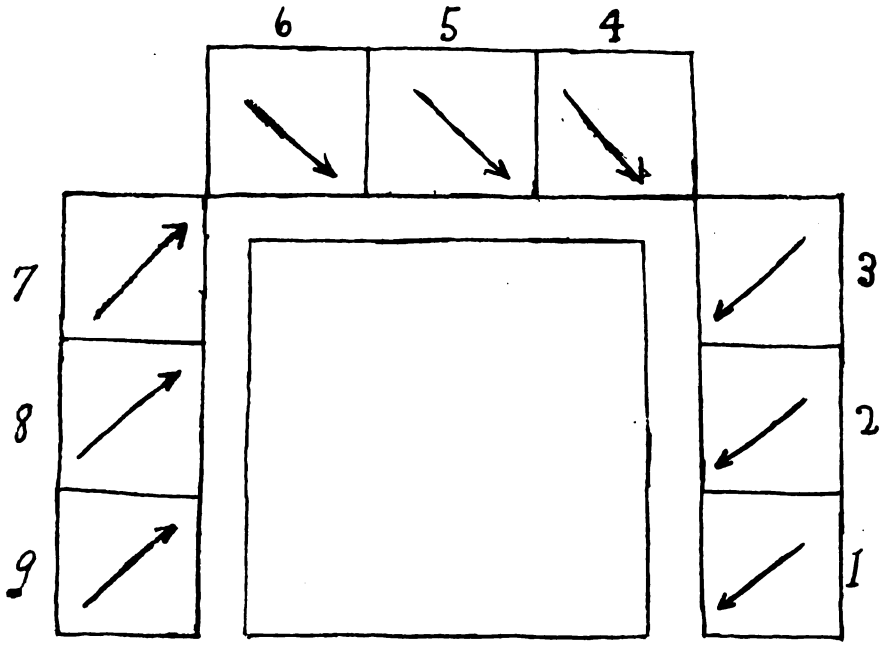
There was some variation in the time at which the banquets were held. The more luxurious banquets began early, the simpler ones late. The dinner party, Serm. II, 8, began about noon, de medio die. This was extremely early, and would be known as a tempestivum convivium. In Epist. I, 5, 3, Horace mentions a cena, supremo sole, just at sunset. This was the other extreme, and was probably a very modest repast. Again, in Epist. I, 7, 71, the author, when inviting a friend to dinner says:

Post nonam venies.

This was the more usual hour for the cena, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon. By this time the men would have had their siesta, their exercise and bath.

The usual number at a cena was nine, three reclining on each of the three couches placed about the table. Four at a couch was probably unusual, though Horace says he has often seen this condition, Serm. I, 4, 86:

Saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos.



The accompanying figure shows the arrangement of the lecti. The three couches were named summus lectus, medius lectus and imus lectus. On each lectus three persons reclined, in the summus locus, medius locus and imus locus respectively. The guest of honor always reclined in the place marked six, the imus locus of the medius lectus. This place came to be called locus consularis, because if a consul were present he always reclined here.

In the banquet described, Serm. II, 8, Maecenas as the chief guest had place number six. Places four and five were filled by two umbrae, uninvited guests, who in this case were parasites of Maecenas.

It was customary for the guest of honor to bring in one or two of his parasites. The other invited guests held places one, two and three in order of their importance. Thus Fundanius must have been the most distinguished guest after Maecenas, since he states, Serm. II, 8, 20:

> Summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra,
> Si memini, Varius.

The imus lectus was reserved for the family. If the host was the only member of the family present, the other two places were filled by the least important guests. The host occupied the summus locus of the imus lectus, and was thus next to the guest of honor. One ridiculous feature of the banquet described here, is that Nasidenus, the host, did not occupy place number seven, but placed there instead, Nomentanus to entertain Maecenas, while he took the middle place, number eight in the figure, Serm. II, 8, 23:

> Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra.

M. Catius in Serm. II, 4, gives us a menu for the cena. The ordinary dinner is divided into three parts: A. the gustatio, consisting of such foods as eggs, coleworts, fowl, mushrooms, shell fish and mulsum; B. the mensa prima or dinner proper, consisting of fish, meats etc.; C. the mensa secunda, of nuts, raisins and all kinds of fruits.

This menu is really very sensible, but Catius goes to ridiculous lengths, explaining with great precision just how each kind of food is to be selected and prepared. Thus he says, long eggs must be chosen

for the gustatio instead of round ones, fowl is to be made tender by steeping in Falernian lees, et cetera ad infinitum.

Horace, the man of moderation exclaims against all excesses in eating. He puts before us a banquet where all the viands are unusual and expensive, Serm. II, 2, 23:

> Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone velis quin
> Hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
> Corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
> Rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda.

A little later in the same satire he gives us a picture of the dinner that satisfies his humble taste, Serm. II, 2, 118:

> Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes
> Sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
> Vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,
> Sed pullo atque haedo; tunc pensilis uva secundas
> Et nux ornabat mensas cumduplice ficu.

After the cena proper came the convivium, a word meaning a living together. Host and guests gave themselves up to the joys of wine drinking and conversation. The subjects of conversation were determined by the character of the guests and host. In the funny dinner, Nasidenus, the unrefined parvenu, devoted the time to a discussion of the viands, while the guests laughed secretly or openly at the dominus. In Serm. II, 6, 70, Horace describes with great skill two distinct types of conversation:

> Ergo
> Sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,

Nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet et nescire malum est, agitamus: utrumne
Divitiis homines an sint virtute beati;
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos;
Et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.

Often congenial spirits would while away hours in such philosophical discussions.

With revellers this convivium degenerated into a commissatio, a drinking bout with perfumes and flowers and the selection of a master of revels called magister bibendi. This magister made laws governing the revels, decided just how the wines should be mixed, and how much each must drink for a toast. Horace disapproves strongly of this commissatio, calls the laws leges insanae, and urges that each individual be his own guide as to the amount he should drink, Serm. II, 6, 67:

Prout cuique libido est,
Siccat inaequalis calices conviva solutus
Legibus insanis seu quis capit acria fortis
Pocula seu modicis uvescit laetius.

His only rule is that all excess be prohibited.

Chapter VII.

AMUSEMENTS .

In Horace we find no trace of any national game like our base ball and foot ball, nor of any social amusement like dancing. Indeed, sport for sport's sake seems not to have been within the conception of a Roman. He played pila or ball before his dinner for the sake of the exercise. This is mentioned Serm. I, 5, 49:

Namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.

Here he tells us that on this particular day, neither he nor Vergil indulged in the usual game of ball, he being deterred by sore eyes, and Vergil by indigestion.

A game of ball especially enjoyable to the Romans was trigon mentioned in Serm. I, 6, 126. In this game three players contested, each standing at the angle of an equilateral triangle, whence the name was derived. It seems a rather stupid game to us, since the ball was merely thrown from one player to another. Sometimes, however, it was made more exciting, by keeping two balls going at a time. A player might throw to either of his opponents, and since both balls might be coming at once, some degree of skill was necessary. Still, a modern boy would call this tame sport.

Serm. II, 2 mentions several kinds of sport classed as Roman field sports, Romana militia, and contrasted with the sports of the Greeks. Under this heading seem to be included hare hunting, horseback riding and quoit throwing, Serm. II, 2, 9:

Leporem sectatus equove

Lassus ab indomito vel si Romana fatigat

Militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila velox
Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem
Seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco.

Riding and deer hunting with dogs are mentioned again, Epist. I, 2, 64:

Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
Ire viam qua monstrat eques; venaticus, ex quo
Tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
Militat in silvis catulus.

But the Romans seem to have enjoyed most of all games of chance with dice; alea or tali. Horace, in Epist. I, 18, 21, says dice playing sends men headlong to ruin, and again he speaks of how enamored men become with the game, Serm. II, 7, 15:

Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra
Contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
Mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
Conductum pavit.

This man, when so crippled with gout that he could not play the game himself, hired a man to take up and throw the dice for him. Whether Horace himself indulged in this pastime is a question. He talks of it as a moralist, and seems to disapprove.

The Romans were passionately fond of all kinds of circus games, and there are many references to these in the Satires and Epistles. We have the chariot race in Serm. I, 1, 114:

Ut cum carceribus missos rapit iugula currus
Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
Praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.

The carceres were the stations from which the races began. They were

vaulted chambers, each large enough to hold one chariot with its team. Missos is a technical word for the starting of a race. The auriga is the chariot driver.

Horace is particularly fond of metaphors derived from gladiators and gladiatorial contests. Thus in Epist. I, 1, when telling Maecenas of his desire to give up poetry and devote his time to philosophy, he likens himself to a gladiator who has earned his discharge by a successful term of service.

Spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.

He has received, he says, his rude, the wooden sword given to the gladiator when he was released from contests in the arena. The school referred to is the ludus gladiatorius, and Horace plays on the word which is also applied to some kinds of poetry.

The Olympian Games were still celebrated in Horace's time for he states, Epist. I, 1, 49:

Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
Cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?

The pugnax here was a wrestler who went around in the villages, engaging in combats on street corners and cross roads, too lazy to engage in the real combats, though glad to accept the prize if he could win it without too much labor.

Theater going was a very common form of amusement. The comedies of Plautus and Terence were still performed in Rome for Horace says, Epist. II, 1, 60:

Hos ediscit et hos arto stipati theatro
Spectat Roma potens habet hos numeratque poetas
Ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.

Stock characters of the comedies are mentioned;

Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
Eludente senem comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani.

Again in Epist. II, 1, 170, he says:

Adspice Plautus
Quo pacto partis tutetur amantis ephebi,
Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,
Quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
Quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco.

These lines were evidently inspired by the author's having seen a stage performance.

Horace complains that the people came to the theater, not to see the plays themselves, but the spectacular features, the decorations and the elaborate clothes of the actors, Epist. II, 1, 200:

Nam quae pervincere voces
Evaluere sonum referunt, quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes
Divitiaeque peregrinae, quibus oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scaena, concurrit, dextera laevae.
'Dixit adhuc aliquid?''Nil sane.''Quid placet ergo?'
'Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.'

In reading these lines our thoughts revert irresistibly to our modern musical comedies with all their spectacular embellishments.

Indeed, there can be very little doubt but that the theater going Romans were attracted to the mimes and pantomimes rather than to the legitimate theater, just as the people of the present age crowd the movie houses. Horace speaks of the mimes of Laberius, Serm. I,10,6:

nam sic

Et Laberi mimos, ut pulchra poemata, mirer.

Laberius was a mime writer who lived in Rome (105-43 B.C.) and belonged to the equestrian order. Because of his having offended Caesar, he was forced to act in one of his own mimes.

Horace tells us nothing with regard to the structure of the Roman theater or the bath. He speaks of arto theatro, the narrow theater, and gives not even that much information about the public baths. He refers to them several times, speaks of authors who read their poems aloud there, Serm. I, 4, 74:

In medio qui

Scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lavantes.

He writes to his steward with some sarcasm, concerning his love for these public baths, Epist. I, 14, 14:

Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas.

Nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas.

That the baths were within the income of all the people is shown, Serm. I, 3, 137:

dum tu quadrante lavatum

Rex ibis.

From passages quoted in the preceding chapter it is evident, that to the Roman the bath was a part of the daily routine like his cena and his meridiatio. The country villas and the homes of the wealthy in the city were equipped with their own private baths, while the public baths were open to all comers.

Chapter VIII.

TRAVEL.

For the most part the Romans travelled only when they had some definite purpose in view. Horace makes no mention of summer tours nor pleasure trips, and the only trips we learn of are: his journey to Athens for the completion of his education, referred to, but nowhere described; his trip to Brundisium, made with Maecenas for the purpose of meeting Antony, described with some detail in Serm. I, 5; plans for a winter at the sea shore, Epist. I, 15; and trips from town to his villa, and from his villa to town.

This summary gives a fairly accurate idea of the travels indulged in by an ordinary Roman. Rome was his all; to be a Roman citizen was the greatest honor to be accorded a man. Why should he risk being forgotten at Rome by engaging in extensive travels in foreign lands? When the days were hot and his business dull, he repaired to his villa; his health might demand a winter at the seashore; for the rest he remained at home.

In these days of steam and electricity it is hard to believe that Horace spent fifteen days travelling from Rome to Brundisium. The distance is only about three hundred Roman miles of 4854 feet, and would be a nine hours' journey for us. But our author has given the itinerary with such detail, that by referring to inscriptions, we can trace his route with great exactness, and figure out the approximate length of each day's journey. A graph of the trip may be found on the next page. There may be some in-

accuracies. Desjardins, for example, declares that the travellers did not remain all night at Capua, nor at Beneventum. There is some doubt also about the exact location of the vicina Trivici villa and the oppidulum quod versu dicere non est, where the water was so cheap and the bread so excellent.

The first part of the trip, the forty-three miles from Rome to Forum Appi, was assuredly made by carriage, though no vehicle is mentioned. According to the ordinary rate of travelling, this would take only one day. Horace, however, and his companion being ignavi, that is inclined to take things easily, went along in a leisurely fashion, and broke the trip with a night's rest at Aricia. Horace says, the Appian road may be traversed with more comfort if one travels slowly.

From Forum Appi they attempted to make a night journey by canal boat, to the grove of Feronia. All seemed favorable; the mule was harnessed, the fare collected, Serm. I, 5, 13:

Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur

Tota abit hora.

They started off, but as soon as the frogs, (ranae) and the gnats (culices) allowed the weary travellers to snatch a little rest, the lazy mule driver, tied the mule to a rock, and was soon snoring peacefully while the boat remained stationary. Thus they were delayed several hours, and did not arrive at their destination until about ten o'clock:

Quarta vix demum exponimus hora.

During the trip from this place to Anxur where they were to meet Maecenas, they crawled along, (repimus). Thus by easy stages,

with plenty of time off for sleep, and exercise, and for meeting friends, they made their journey. If men did not travel for pleasure in those days, during their enforced trips they enjoyed every comfort.

The inns along the way were notoriously bad. Horace calls the one at Aricia a Hospitium modicum, and Cic. de Sen. 23, 84 says:

> Ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio,
> non tamquam ex domo,

the inference being that he would be very willing to depart from an inn. Horace says, Epist. I, 11, 11:

> Sed neque, qui Capua Romam petit imbre lutoque
> Aspersus volet in caupona vivere,

Whenever it was possible, travellers spent the nights with friends or acquaintances, along the road, in order to escape the inns. Thus, at Formiae, a favorite resort, Murena afforded them lodging, Capito entertainment.

The trip was made by canal boat and by carriage. The kind of carriage used in at least the last part of the journey was a reda, a large, heavy, four wheeled equipage drawn by two or four horses. This seems to have been the carriage usually used for little jaunts as well as long trips. Horace mentions it, Serm. II, 6, 42:

> Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus
> Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
> In numero, dumtaxat ad hoc quem tollere reda
> Vellet iter faciens.

Quadrigis, Epist. I, 11, 29, probably refers to the reda:

navibus atque

Quadrigis petimus bene vivere.

Another vehicle was the petorritum, Serm. II, 6, 104:

Nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res

Atque salutandi plures ducendus et unus

Et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve

Exirem, plures calones atque caballi

Pascendi, ducenda petorrita.

The petorritum was a heavy four wheeled carriage or wagon, employed usually to transport baggage and servants, while the master rode in a reda or a currus. Quint. I, 5, 57 says: plurima Gallica evaluerunt ut raeda ac petorritum, quorum altero tamen Cicero, altero Horatius utitur.

The currus and the lectica were both used commonly in the city, the currus drawn by horses, the lectica carried by slaves. Plaustra were drays or transfer wagons used for carrying materials. No other vehicles are mentioned in the Satires and Epistles.

Of the streets of Rome, Horace seems to have a particular fondness for the Via Sacra, running from the Esquiline Capitoline where it joined the clivus Capitolinus. Here he loved to walk alone and meditate, Serm. I, 9, 1:

Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,

Nescio quid meditans nugarum.

However the streets of the city, though not comparable with State Street, were not always to be recommended as places suitable for meditation, as is shown in Epist. II, 2, 67:

Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis

Omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque:
Intervalla vides humane commoda! Verum,
Purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machinatignam,
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:
Inunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.

Chapter IX.

MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD .

It is not to be expected that Horace would give a long dissertation on the occupations of the people of his day. But here and there, with a clever touch he gives us an insight into the work-a-day world of the Romans. He was a man about town, who during his leisure hours, used to wander through the Via Sacra and other streets, talking to the men he met, and studying types. In his Satires and Epistles, he gives us the fruit of his meditations.

The farmer, agricola or rusticus, was a gentleman farmer who lived on his own estate, and came to the city, having given bail to appear in court on a certain day. He evidently did some of the farm work for we read Serm. I, 1, 27:

Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro.

But most of the work was undoubtedly done by the slaves. The farmers of the olden days who had tilled their own soil and had even had their own festivals and entertainments, had been supplanted by a new type. Horace speaks of the old style farmer, Epist. II, 1, 139:

Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati
Condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo,
Corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, pueris et conuige fida,
Tellurem porco Silvanum lacte piabunt,
Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.

The farmer of the first century of the Empire was no longer parvo beatus, but was dissatisfied, complained of his work and envied the man of the city, Serm. I, 1, 12:

Solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.

The "iuris legumque peritus" of Serm. I, 1, 9, was the city gentleman skilled in questions of law. His clients came to him for legal advice, and it was a point of honor with men of high character to give freely of their technical knowledge. They were not supposed to receive a recompense for such services, but of course the clients often insisted on their accepting gifts, so the business was not entirely without remuneration, Epist. II, 1, 103:

Romae dulce fuit et sollemne reclusa

Mane domo vigilare clienti promere iura.

That Horace himself was sometimes an advocatus is shown by Serm. II, 6, 35:

Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.

The soldier, miles, of the day was not the citizen soldier whose term of service lasted only during a single campaign, but was a man who enlisted for a period of twenty years, was paid for military service, and formed a part of the regular army. Horace pictures him "gravis armis miles", no longer enthusiastic but still fit for service. He envied his fellow men who earned their livelihood in a less laborious way, but worked on, in the hope of obtaining a rich farm at the end of his term of service, Serm. II, 6, 55:

Quid militibus promissa Triquetra

Praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus?

The mercatores were wholesale dealers who sailed their own ships, and brought back cargoes from foreign ports, like Antonio in the Merchant of Venice. This occupation was considered perfectly proper for a Roman gentleman, though the retailers were looked on with contempt.

It was a very lucrative business, but was hazardous also, and when unfavorable winds tossed their ships, the merchants envied their fellow men engaged in less dangerous occupations. Successful business men who bought and sold cum lucro, were sometimes termed Mercuriales, or favorites of the god of trade.

Money lending at interest was never looked upon as entirely respectable for a Roman, but very many Romans of the highest respectability became very wealthy from this business, carried on discreetly in the name of a freedman. Men invested a great deal of money in this way, Serm. I, 2, 13:

Dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis.

The interest was called merces, the principal nummus. The same tricks of the trade seem to have been employed then as at the present time. Horace gives us a vivid picture of the debtor's fear of his creditor, Serm. I, 3, 86:

Odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
Qui nisi cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat amaras
Porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.

The Wall Street of Rome that made and wrecked fortunes was the quarter known as ad Ianum medium. It was so named from an arch, Ianus medius, which stood near the basilica Aemilia, and extended along the north side of the Forum from the Comitium to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. This was the resort of money lenders and bankers; here they carried on their business. In another place, Epist. I, 1, 54, Horace calls this simply Ianus. Cicero says, de Off. II, 24, 87:

De quaerenda, de conlocanda pecunia, etiam
de utenda, commodius a quibusdam optimis viris
ad Iamum in medium sedentibus quam ab ullis
philosophis ulla in schola disputatur.

A member of the lower class or a libertinus might be a medicus or doctor, a sutor or tonsor, a caupo or a scurra. He might have charge of a shop, taberna; or of a book stall, pila; or of an eating house, popina.

Horace himself had been a scriba, or quaestor's clerk, after his return to Rome in 41 B. C., and was always considered a member of the guild, as is shown by the appeal in Serm. II, 6, 36:

De re communi scribae magna atque nova te
Orabant hodie meminisses Quinte, reverti.

After he became a man of letters, his time was his own. In Serm. I, 6, he has left us a picture of the daily life at Rome of a gentleman of leisure. He rose and walked and bathed and dined when he pleased. He dipped in philosophy, meditated on life, wrote his books, not for sale, but for the entertainment of his friends, and free from ambition lived his life at peace with his friends and with his own soul.